

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Parties versus Principles

THE Socialist party is a group of idealists unified in a cause and uncorrupted by possession of power. Suppose it should show promising growth and begin to elect candidates!

Membership being open to all, it will forthwith enjoy an influx of newcomers, including some merely intent on sharing the power. The latter will dismay the idealists by their indifference to doctrine and their readiness to sacrifice it for victories; so the platforms become less obnoxiously explicit and items alien to the original concept are put in as voter-bait.

Pressure groups clamber aboard this vehicle and are eagerly welcomed and catered to. Management problems multiply, a party machine develops and practical men take it over, utilizing the cause and the embarrassed idealists to mask their grab for power. Until at last the platforms become general and equivocal, the candidates nondescript, and people say, "What real difference is there now between the Socialists and the Republicans?"

Such a cycle of degradation (long since completed in the major parties) has been seen twice in miniature in Greater New York's half-century, requiring, in small new parties, no more than four years to sink from honest reform to narrow escapes from capture of key posts by self-seekers blatantly disdainful of party ideals.

Such degradation toward meaning-

lessness would not occur in England where the party organizers would pass their torches to successors of their own choosing. Holding their rudder true, they could control selection of party candidates in distant districts and read deviationists out of the party. And there would be no point of entry for undesirables, for the mass of the party members, old or new, would not participate in the party's simple mechanism of internal management.

But England is compact, its ballots are short, its party machines have relatively little to do and can be kept to their place as servants of the cause.

Here party machines have vastly more to do. They must act as unofficial extensions of government. They must maintain horizontal contacts of the party groups over vast areas and produce concerted action therefrom on candidates in bulky constituencies such as that of the state of Pennsylvania voting for governor. They must fill long ballots and find funds or patronage to remunerate their busy army of precinct professionals.

The party mechanicians, taking full possession, juggernaut the party's soul.

The remedy is to reduce the volume of work that now calls them into existence in such numbers. Shorter ballots, simplify the democratic process! We cannot hope to carry this to the point of abandoning election from the unique giant

constituencies of the president or the statewide elective officers but the numbers of officers, chosen in great cities or in states, from huge at-large constituencies, can be reduced to a minimum. The clearing up of the clutter of the million county, judicial and local elective officers is in successful progress, reducing blind dependence of voters on party labels and bringing in nonpartisan elections

wherein genuine local parties on the British model arise and flourish.

Party mechanicians, when thus made less important in party activity, will lose some of their power to overrun leaders whose interest is in principle. Then a party council, defining party policy in defiance of ward vote-getting strategies, may feel less futile and, if it becomes influential, less fearful of capture.

You See, It Was Like This

THE huge margins by which Frank Hague delivered Hudson County's vote at the height of his power were scarcely believable.

Few areas in the world, outside Hitler's Germany or Stalin's Russia, have ever experienced such near unanimity on any question or candidate. It was widely assumed that no really honest election could produce such results; and, indeed, the fall of Boss Hague since voting machines replaced the old paper ballot would seem to lend some support to such suspicions.

New light was thrown on the situation recently with the discovery of a secret roster of the 160,000 Jersey City voters, carefully recording their faithfulness or their enmity to the organization and suggesting how their loyalty could be bought by favor or fear.

Examples:

"25 votes in family—all now active Republicans. Sore because unable to get job shaving patients in jail. All votes N. G. Rep." (N. G. stands for "no good," of course.—Ed.)

"Husband is ex-Gov. \$20,000-a-year Democrat. O.K." (This for wife of former Governor A. Harry Moore.)

"Republican—favor would help."

"Six Republican votes, including wife who is sister of a Democratic officeholder."

"Widow of ex-Police Chief. Votes Republican but receives widow's pension from P. D."

"Has been very irregular and is an agitator. Husband retired J. C. fireman."

"N. G. Think he is a Socialist. Talks like one."

There were also reports on Republicans who signed petitions in favor of the council-manager form of government, a nurse in the city's Medical Center whose family was Republican and one on an irregular family the son of which held a bus license.

A thorough study to learn what favors out of the public treasury or what reprisals by the dictator might later have brought the various recalcitrants to heel would be illuminating.

State Management Limited

Michigan's advances in administrative reorganization during last decade have been halting but significant.

By JOHN A. PERKINS*

THIRTY years ago Michigan citizens were first acquainted with the fact that, like Topsy, Michigan's government "just growed." The Community Council Commission, created by the legislature of 1919, made the first administrative analysis of Michigan's government. To offset scattered responsibility, diffused authority, invisible government, easy shifting of blame and fiscal mystery, reorganization based upon fundamental principles of good administrative organization was proposed.

The work of this early study commission provided the legislature and the governor with excellent blueprints as background. Had the governor read them well, and the legislature built accordingly, Michigan would have enjoyed more responsible government these many years since.

The 1921 legislative session jerry-built. It did reduce the number of state agencies by 30 through merging those with similar functions but re-

jected the short ballot idea and an integrated type organization responsible to the governor. Instead, the State Administrative Board was created. It brought together all elected state officers, thereby putting the governorship in commission. The chief executive was chairman but was hardly *primus inter pares*, for he did not choose his co-workers. For a few years the governor had an absolute veto power over the board's actions but eventually the board was given power to override the veto.

The "Ad" board was given virtually all powers of the chief executive other than the appointment of certain officers. Under its immediate jurisdiction, reporting to it through an executive secretary, were grouped the several administrative service and control agencies: personnel, budgeting, purchasing, accounting and building construction, plus a few other miscellaneous duties. Since its creation the board has demonstrated every weakness of a reorganization plan which fails to fix authority and responsibility so that the people know whom to hold accountable.

A strong-minded governor can dominate the board while disclaiming responsibility for its actions. An individual member of the board, experienced and endowed with strong will, can likewise dominate the board without accepting responsibility. A weak chief executive can blame

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others for lack of action or mistakes.

Elected officials comprising the board are not always members of the same party and administrative decisions are often fraught with petty party politics. Even when composed entirely of members of a single party, the board does not work smoothly because members are often vying for the governorship.

Board members collectively performing control activities are reluctant to apply the controls to themselves as department heads. Hence, several major state departments have been free to run as they please. This board, like all *ex officio* ones, has had little time to supervise its subordinates carefully. It has vacillated between supervision of routine matters in infinite detail and perfunctory action on policy matters.

Experience under this Administrative Board arrangement in Michigan amply demonstrates that boards are long, narrow and wooden, and are not for purposes of administration.

The problem of state organization in Michigan arises from the fact that the governor carries responsibility for administrative performance which he lacks the means to fulfill. The true objective is not to "give the governor power" but to give the public power to demand and get the kind of results it wants. The present organization of state government stands as a bar to that objective. Reorganization will provide it.

Little or no attention was paid

to the problems of reorganization for nearly twenty years. The limited authority and great responsibility of the governor of Michigan attracted, for the most part, mediocre candidates. A political boss dominated state administration—the headlessness of state administration invites the invisible government of a party boss for someone has to coordinate affairs.

It was in 1938 that the Michigan Commission on Reform and Modernization of Government was established. A preliminary survey identified eleven problems of general executive organization and management. They are enumerated here as benchmarks of progress:

Management Problems

(1) The appointment of presently elected department heads, (2) lifting constitutional limitations on compensation of elected officers, (3) use of single administrators instead of boards and commissions as the heads of agencies, (4) need to consolidate agencies into approximately fifteen large departments, (5) creation of a governor's cabinet in the true sense instead of the Administrative Board, (6) strengthening of state civil service and personnel management,

(7) Unification of tax collection into a single department of revenue, (8) establishment of a department of finance comprising the functions of budgeting, accounting, controlling and purchasing under an officer responsible to the governor, (9) staffing the governor's office with skilled and competent assistants to

enable him to fulfill the requirements of his position, (10) lengthening the governor's term to four years, and (11) providing an independent check on the executive branch by relieving the auditor general of administrative duties and empowering him to perform the post-audit function.

In six of the areas delineated for study some improvements have been made in the ten years that have intervened and earnest attention is now being given the rest. In 1941 revenue collection, theretofore scattered in a dozen agencies, was brought together in a Department of Revenue headed by a single commissioner. The same year a comprehensive state civil service system was written into the constitution by popular referendum.

And then came the third extraordinary session of the 64th Michigan legislature in 1948. Governor Kim Sigler's message was based upon the principles of the Community Council Commission report enriched by the experience of the 28 intervening years. The governor observed that in the nearly 40 years under the present constitution only five governors had had more than one term. In two years it is next to impossible to conceive and carry out a program, not to mention opportunity to prove its validity. He advocated lengthening the term of office of governor to four years. He proposed that the governor appoint the attorney-general and secretary of state, thus shortening the ballot. He also advocated that the constitution be amended to remove all provisions fixing salaries.

Only the last proposed change in the constitution was adopted. The legislature benefited as well as the governor and other elective officers. Higher pay was provided subsequently by statute. A sales tax diversion amendment enacted in 1946 brought some sweet with the bitter. It earmarked funds, contrary to good governmental practice, but it made mandatory annual school appropriations and hence annual legislative sessions.

Meeting annually, the legislature has come to appreciate better some organizational shortcomings in Michigan's government. The sales tax diversion amendment also made it urgent that every remaining tax dollar be stretched further in the performance of governmental services. Therefore, there was considerable receptivity when Governor Sigler proposed a new Department of Administration.

Fiscal Affairs Integrated

The Department of Administration provided a reorganization of the fiscal control type, integrating the several fiscal staff and managerial functions in one department whose head is appointed by the governor and serves at his pleasure. These functions, which in 1921 were placed under the Administrative Board and supervised by its executive secretary, had in the intervening years become widely scattered.

The secretary of the board had become simply a corresponding one. Accounting had been reassigned to the auditor-general in 1939; purchasing was supervised by a committee of the board as was building

and construction, while budgeting became the responsibility of a separate staff agency responsible to the governor. Building management, office services and printing, which had for many years been under the *ex officio* Board of State Auditors, were transferred along with these other functions to the new department.

The Department of Administration was given control over all the "tools of management" except personnel. The head of the new department, the controller, was to serve as secretary of the Administrative Board.

Although there was little left for the board to do, it was thought that it could not be abolished entirely. To have suggested it would have been too much of an affront to administrative tradition in Michigan. It was also necessary to appease some of the board members and keep them from opposing too actively the new department.

Administrative Board Dominates

The board was supposedly stripped of its administrative functions by the Department of Administration Act. It did retain, as long as the act creating it was on the books, a general supervisory authority over all state agencies, an authority so broad as possibly to conflict with the constitutional responsibilities of the governor.

There is no reason, except tradition, that the board should give any more supervision to the Department of Administration than to the Highway Department, or the Conservation Department, or any other department. However, the board,

through its broad supervisory power, out of political expediency and somewhat tortured statutory interpretation, has interfered with the operation of the new department to an extent never contemplated by those who conceived the new organization.

This Michigan experience teaches a lesson in administrative reorganization: There should be no compromises with sound administrative principle. When compromises are made, the fundamentally sound administrative change may be discredited not because of inherent weaknesses in it but because of the failure to free it to operate.

The Department of Administration had just begun to function when the governor who sponsored it was defeated at the polls on issues extraneous to reorganization. His defeat was the signal for some of his more fortunate fellow partisans in other elective state offices quickly to delimit the Department of Administration. Through its general supervisory authority, the Administrative Board substituted itself for the governor and reviewed the operations of the department in the spirit of a chief executive.

The department and its activities have been relegated to a position comparable to that which the several staff agencies had in 1921 when they were assembled under an executive secretary directly responsible to the Administrative Board. The committees of the board which were scheduled to go out of existence took a new lease on life after the election. The board went so far in one instance of assuming control that it directed a subordinate of the

controller to make his recommendations directly to the board. Such steps were taken in a partisan spirit of "saving the state" from the Democratic governor who had been elected by the people by a good majority.

Republican leaders in the legislature who enthusiastically supported the idea of the Department of Administration have been put in a difficult position. Defeat in the gubernatorial race made them draw more closely to the other elected state officers of their party—some of whom had always considered the department a threat to their prestige and power.

Legislative information about the operation of the Department of Administration has come from this biased source and was easily believed in an atmosphere full of party spirit. Concepts of responsibility commensurate with authority, an integrated executive authority easily held accountable by the people, and even efficiency and economy are quickly sacrificed to party loyalty.

Legislative leaders who had sponsored the Department of Administration envisioned a single agency which they as well as the governor could hold responsible for the overall efficient operation of not only budgeting, accounting and purchasing, etc., but also, through these tools, the line departments as well. When the department came under the control of a governor of the opposite party some of its staunchest legislative friends lost confidence that it would serve the legislature as they had expected. This change of legislative attitude is reflected in

the subsequent creation of a legislative comptroller to be the watchdog of the legislature over administration.¹

Administrative reorganization and politics are closely related. Had the election following the creation of the Department of Administration not gone as it did, the governor, enhanced by the prestige of reelection, could have assured the independence of the new department and kept the Administrative Board in its place. The department would not have become the storm center of partisanship. In time the position of its head might have become—as was visualized—a state business manager. The controller should be a professional manager and not a politician, and accepted as such, as is the city manager in so many well governed American cities.

Department's Accomplishments

Greatest accomplishment of the Department of Administration is the integration effected in the work of its own divisions—particularly budgeting, accounting, purchasing and building. Elimination of duplication, confused responsibility and conflict between these activities could only be brought about when they were all made parts of one de-

¹While this official will be helpful to the legislature in innumerable ways, he can never perform the business management function that the legislature was seeking in the creation of the Department of Administration. The tools for day-to-day management can never be vested in a strictly legislative official as long as the separation of powers theory is embedded in our state constitutions. There is between this legislative official and the Department of Administration every possibility of conflict.

partment responsible to a single head. When they were separate agencies with different heads, with no one to coordinate them, there was buck-passing between them and differences in policy. This worked hardships upon the departments and institutions upon which they exerted their separate controls.

New procedures and methods introduced by the Department of Administration have proved popular with other operating units of the state government. It is these agencies that are perhaps in the best position to judge the efficiency and effectiveness of centralized service and control activities.

While the Department of Administration endeavored to establish a strong central executive control, from the outset it has had a policy of simplifying and decentralizing, both geographically and functionally, so that each department and institution more completely controls the details of its own destiny. Any fair-minded student of public administration, called upon to make a comparison of budgeting, accounting, purchasing, architectural services, building and land management, operation of car pools and other miscellaneous central services, would testify to improvements in each since the new department went into operation. State tax dollars have been more carefully spent. Although politics has interfered with the development of the new department, the governor's position has been somewhat strengthened and hence responsible popular control enhanced.

Good government in Michigan has been advanced by separating

the related but distinctly different functions of accounting and auditing. The Community Council Commission, to quote from its nearly 30-year-old report, declared, "Accounting is a managerial or administrative duty and is no part of auditing." Before the Department of Administration was created, the auditor general kept the books, established the accounting systems centrally and in the departments and then audited his own work. The act emancipated the auditor general from bookkeeping and enabled him to undertake an independent post audit of state agencies.

In the past year the auditor general has presented an unprecedented number of audit reports, many of them covering the operation of major state agencies, some of them being audited for the first time in their history. The legislature in the auditor general now has the independent check it was seeking and the legislative comptroller is not so necessary.

Other Advances

In the past two years there were at least two other examples in which the legislature followed the principles advocated by the Commission on Reform and Modernization of Government of 1938. The Juvenile Institute Commission was abolished, thus reducing by one the number of separate state agencies. The institutions for which it was responsible were placed under the Department of Welfare, thus facilitating the juvenile rehabilitation work by relating it to other activities of a similar character. By placing the

Department of Corrections under a single commissioner and abolishing the five-man commission, responsibility for this activity was centered and over-all supervision and planning facilitated.

Efforts at reorganization in Michigan did not stop with the end of the third special session of 1948. Governor Sigler appointed a joint committee of legislators to study further reorganization steps. This committee was reassigned to its task in the regular session of 1949 by concurrent resolution.

Governor G. Mennen Williams feels that this joint committee of the legislature can accomplish very little reorganization. He proposes the now almost ubiquitous "little Hoover Commission" approach that is being tried in a number of states. His proposed commission of "leading citizens" to study reorganization would be created by statute and given an appropriation of \$100,000 or more to hire a staff to do a complete job.

Up to Legislature

The Democratic governor may be right. At least, it is up to the Republican legislature to prove that it is sincere in its apparent interest in administrative reorganization. Seventeen statutory changes in administrative structure, for the most part commendable, were recommended by the joint committee just prior to the regular session in January 1949. None of them passed the legislature. If a legislative committee cannot push its own reorganization proposals through to enactment, the strongest argument in favor of a legislative study com-

mittee to initiate reorganization is nullified.

If the joint committee is to do the reorganization job it must have objectivity, courage and intelligence to overcome prejudice, partisanship and misconception. Any worthwhile reorganization must establish clear lines of authority and responsibility leading to the governor. Partisanship and traditional legislative jealousy of the governor must not be permitted to interfere with clear thinking on this point or extension of the governor's term to four years.

Personal ambition of legislators to become elective state officers must not preclude consideration of the questionable wisdom of electing department heads. It is paradoxical, indeed, that the same legislature that is studying reorganization should be reported as ready and willing to repeal the Department of Administration Act. That act and the creation of a corrections commissioner in lieu of a commission are definitely in the spirit of the Hoover Commission's philosophy and proven good practice in reorganized states like New York and Virginia.

It is to be hoped that the legislative joint committee will meet the challenge. Michigan has made halting but significant advances toward better administrative organization, especially in the last decade. Unless haste is made in Michigan and many other states, it may be a case of too little, too late, if the states are to maintain anything like their proper and traditional role in a federal system beset by the problems of the welfare state which seemingly is upon us.

Good Government and Labor

Union leader cites progress in Kansas City with manager plan but demands greater part in general civic efforts.

By S. A. GALATAS*

IT IS significant that those interested in the preservation and spread of good government across the nation have recognized the importance of considering how the labor groups within our cities think and react to such efforts.

The labor movement was first concerned primarily with economic issues. Having made great progress in this respect it now turns its attention to the broader aspects of all those things that make for good living. Society, in its own interest, must recognize the interdependence of all groups. Labor wants to obtain and give cooperation.

A city government provides services and material things for all citizens. The workers make up the majority of the citizens, and certainly workers are interested in good government. But we must have a concept of what good government is. From my point of view it means opportunity for better living for everyone, especially for the lower income groups.

Labor recognizes that what we

*Mr. Galatas, president and business representative of the Kansas City (Missouri) Local of the Laundry Workers' International Union, has long been active in civic affairs. He is a member of the City Planning Commission, co-chairman of the Men's Division of the Community Chest, chairman of the Labor Management Clergy Committee of Greater Kansas City, first vice president of the Urban League and a member of the Legislative Committee of the Central Labor Union, AFL.

spend for one purpose cannot be spent for another. Good government may not necessarily be the most economical government from the point of view of the lowest possible taxes. It is interested, however, that every tax dollar collected be spent as effectively as possible. Certainly the masses of people, and the people I represent, who are in the lower income group—Negroes and whites, of all religious denominations—are especially concerned with the effectiveness and extent of governmental services.

In Kansas City, Missouri, we are fortunate that during the past ten years under the council-manager plan, which I, for one, heartily endorse, we have seen improved and expanded services for citizens—better streets, better lighting, better recreation, improved health and physical safeguards, and future comprehensive planned development, without increased tax assessments and in spite of constantly increased costs of living. This has been possible only through vigorous guarding of public expenditures, and the development of revenue sources not previously utilized.

I refer particularly to such things as the revenue produced at the city's municipal farm (penal institution), which is responsible for some \$60,000 a year in actual revenue in addition to a tremendous reduction in costs of providing for prisoners. The present city administration, through

careful study and letting of contracts for garbage collection, makes an annual saving of something less than \$200,000 a year, even though wage scales have kept pace with the times.

Labor is interested in health matters and the consideration now being given by City Manager L. P. Cookingham and the city council to increasing hospital facilities, and the city's participation in the development of a mental health facility which will give relief to a deplorable lack in our community and state, is cause for rejoicing by labor, which may be expected to benefit largely from this program.

Since we spend much of our time within the limits of the city, we need a complete, adequate, coordinated recreation program for children, for young people in industry, for the middle-aged and for those who have retired. This, too, has been developed within the past ten years until in 1948 an attendance of almost two million was recorded as participating in Kansas City's year-round recreation program.

Labor appreciates a fighting government, one which will fight to get the proper franchises from public utilities and see that they are enforced. In transportation, when fares are increased wages are cut. It is the working people who use public transportation. Bus and street car fares are oppressive to labor and student groups and we hope officials will continue to give real concern to this fact. Our municipal authorities have succeeded in lowering gas rates and have reduced water rates while still obtaining substantial revenue from the water department.

Labor wants a city government that will go to bat on telephone rates and light rates. It would not always take the position that requests of public utilities for increased rates are not necessary but, when the requests are made, we want to know that our city government is looking after the public's interest. Labor is interested to know that utilities as well as big corporations are paying their proportionate share of city taxes because cities depend upon taxes, which should be equitable.

Housing Program Needed

As it moves forward economically, labor is interested in the environment in which its homes are built. Good government, through zoning, building, sanitation and fire controls, plus planning, can provide the basis and framework upon which the working classes can build and improve their own environment and family life. This means also a program of public housing supported by the city. This has been one of the disappointments in our city, although its program of rodent and insect control and its sanitary code are of help in improving this situation.

Kansas City is to be commended on its accomplishments in raising the wages and salaries of its lower bracket employees approximately 73.3 per cent and labor is in favor of a merit system which provides that each individual shall be protected in his job. However, it feels that union minimum wages should prevail. It wants the opportunity, without discrimination, to fill any of the responsible positions in the city.

Labor will support an adequate

social security program but, if I were asked what the greatest need for all citizens in my city is, I would say it is the need of an adult education program—not for those who are interested in specialties such as music or literature, not for those who are interested in trades, nor for illiterates, but a program that will provide for these special interests and in addition will broaden the understanding and give reason and basis for the thinking of people on the many issues they must decide if they live in a democratic system.

Labor's Interest in Education

Of major importance, and possibly paramount, is labor's interest in education. As far back as 1829 public education took its place at the head of labor reforms demanded by the Workingmen's Party of Philadelphia. In 1830 it declared:

All history corroborates the melancholy fact that, in proportion as the mass of the people becomes ignorant, misrule and anarchy ensue—their liberties are subverted and tyrannic ambition has never failed to take advantage of their helpless condition. . . . Let the productive classes then unite for the preservation of their free institutions and, by procuring for all the children in the Commonwealth republican education, preserve our liberties from the dangers of foreign invasion or domestic infringement. . . . Our government is republican; our education should be equally so.

In 1834 trade unions in convention in New York City urged the necessity of an "equal, universal, republican system of education." The next year the convention demanded establishment of free libraries "for

the use and benefit of mechanics and workingmen."

Exactly 125 years later we still stand for these things. Labor unions were the first supporters of the public schools. We are in favor and have supported a good school system not only in the elementary grades but in the high school and now in the colleges, with an opportunity for training in the industrial arts and technology. We are in favor of libraries which offer the opportunity for those who work for a living to obtain both enjoyment and the opportunity for development.

The union believes in collective action and, as I have mentioned, our objective in the past has been economic improvement; our concept now is broader. There are many places in the labor movement in which we can justifiably be criticized; there are others in which we have been criticized unjustly. I believe we can all agree that in the short time in which democracy has been made available in the economic realm, great strides have been made in intelligent assumption of responsibility by labor. Not the least part of an adult education program is the opportunity to put into action the decisions arrived at by men free from political and economic duress.

In 1947 Kansas City approved a bond issue of some \$41,000,000. Confident that these moneys would be spent economically and properly for the purposes for which they were designated, labor approved this bond issue. Back of this was the financial rating which has been established for Kansas City in recent years through honesty, integrity and

economy in city expenditures. This is actual cash in the pockets of the laboring men and highly desirable.

As responsible government thinks and plans for better living within a community, labor should be in on the planning so that the needs and desires of this large segment of the population may be rightfully interpreted at the conference table from which will issue the blueprint for community development. Such plans pertain mostly to the workingmen's children, for it is his children who depend upon city-supervised playgrounds. It is on these playgrounds that boys and girls of all races are taught to play the game square and have their first opportunity to play their part in real American life where segregation, because of race or religion, is not tolerated.

Labor's Part in Government

We in labor not only want to live in a city that has good government but we want to participate in government and be a part of it. If I were to make one labor suggestion for the continuance of good government it would be that those who have responsibility in labor organizations and the rank and file of labor be consulted on the same plane as the chamber of commerce, the real estate board or any other civic group, not a token participation but a real one where the opinions of one group receive equal consideration with those of any other.

Labor feels that the city government should set the standard and provide the atmosphere of good relations between all groups. It also feels that, before a program can be

made, there must be improvements in the economic realm, and the labor union, with its objective of opportunity, wishes to work along with all other groups, with the city taking the leadership to bring them together in the interest of full production and distribution based upon contribution.

We in labor join with other civic minded groups not only in providing the greatest possible service for each dollar but also in seeing that these dollars are used for common benefit in order to provide for a full life now and in the future.

We join with such groups in every endeavor to provide good, honest and efficient government in the interest of all citizens.

We feel that city government can do and has done much to provide an atmosphere of freedom and that the city must envision the problems of living beyond those problems that existed ten, 25 or more years ago. The highest caliber of government leadership will seek, encourage and find an equally fine caliber of leadership in the labor groups and mutual respect will be productive of greater achievements for the benefit of all.

I would not be honest with myself or with the labor group I represent if I were to leave the impression that Utopia has been achieved by any existing municipal government. I cannot fail to applaud the many fine achievements under the banner of good government. Neither can I fail to urge those working for good government to welcome labor into their innermost councils, from which they still feel themselves excluded and to which they can make a real contribution.

Nebraska Idea 15 Years Old

One-house legislature no longer considered experimental; people well satisfied with result of their pioneer move.

By RICHARD C. SPENCER*

NEBRASKA'S experience with the unicameral legislature is now beyond the experimental stage. The one-house system is well established and it is possible to make a fairly accurate appraisal of its features. Seven regular biennial and three special sessions have been held. Some suggestions for minor changes will go on the ballot in the 1950 general election, but they do not call for any return to the two-house system.

Probably every session of any legislature pleases some people who are affected by its enactments or by its inaction while it displeases others by some of those same measures. Nebraska is not an exception in this respect but, regardless of expressions of disappointment at some of the bills that become law, one does not hear now, certainly not from important political sources, any demand for reversion to two houses.

The constitutional amendment of 1934 provided merely for the abolition of the two-house legislature and the substitution of a relatively small house of from 30 to 50 members. The size was fixed within these limits in 1935 by the last bicameral legisla-

ture in providing for 43 districts, a member to be elected from each, for the term beginning in 1937.

The biennial sessions were unchanged and so also were the relations of the governor to the legislature by way of budget proposals, veto power and the confirmation of gubernatorial appointments. The lieutenant governor's duties as presiding officer were transferred from the old Senate to the new body.

By statute the office of the clerk of the legislature was made permanent and a legislative council with research and reference staff was established to assist the legislature. These offices have been a distinct aid and the fact that they need serve only a single house prevents confusion and waste of effort on their part.

The early accounts of the first two or three sessions of the new legislature seemed to some skeptics to be somewhat generous in praise of the new system but, in general, longer experience has proved the skeptics wrong. Some former political opponents who at first viewed the device with alarm or scorn soon became adjusted to the new idea, or even began to view it with approval or at least with some degree of optimism. A lieutenant governor who presided over the new legislature is numbered among the converts.

The 43 districts were rather equitably arranged on the basis of the population census of 1930 and, ac-

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cording to the 1940 census, no great change occurred to alter the picture seriously. But a further growth of the metropolitan communities could upset Nebraska's representation just as it has done in some other states. Any attempt to rearrange single-member districts, of course, could result in a gerrymander. The principal safeguard against such a contingency is that these legislators are elected on a nonpartisan basis. This nonpartisan, or "non-political," feature has been subject to some attack from partisans, at least during the earlier years, but no present proposals for change heed this criticism.

Election records show that voters are fully aware of their legislature and are interested in their representatives. Although legislative nominees do not have a prominent place on the ballot, about four-fifths of those voters appearing at general elections vote for legislative candidates. And between 80 and 90 per cent of those voting at primary elections vote for legislative candidates even though they are not on partisan sections of the ballot.

More than that, candidates elected are usually persons who have already won some local distinction, by long service on school boards or in city or county offices. A number have been presidents of their local chambers of commerce. Two-thirds or more of those elected each session have had previous experience in the legislature, some of them for a number of terms, so that Nebraska laws are not made by green legislators. Thus far there have always been a few members who had served in the former bicameral legislature.

Until now, at least, no member seems to have his district sewed up through local machine politics. Seldom are candidates without opponents, at least in the primary, and in some districts considerable rivalry develops.

Factors of Success

Internally, the factors that have contributed to the success of the unicameral legislature may be listed as: (1) knowledge of what goes on, that is, absence of the uncertainty so common under bicameral systems caused by not knowing what another chamber, its standing committees or committee chairmen or conference committees may do; (2) a bill procedure that is deliberate and democratic; (3) procedure that is clear, understandable, observable and easily reportable by the newspapers; (4) committee structure that promotes some degree of internal leadership and coordination; (5) a session that is not limited as to duration.

The preliminary examining or drafting of bills is real and not perfunctory. The rules requiring introduction of bills early in the session can be and are applied. Committees report bills only after each has a public hearing announced in the journals five days in advance and the report thereon adopted in a committee meeting held at a scheduled hour and a committee record made. A successful exposure of an attempted evasion of this rule late in the 1949 session indicates that rules on committee procedure are enforced. Newspaper reporters may attend executive sessions of committees.

The legislature itself has an adequate opportunity to debate each bill. Technical safeguards are provided so that there seems to be little opportunity to railroad a bill through, as so frequently happens in bicameral legislatures.

After the first general debate on a bill it is given a thorough review for technical accuracy, even re-written if necessary. Then after a second consideration it is engrossed and reprinted by the same technical committee, and its draftsman, that had previously reviewed it.

Only then does it go on the calendar for final reading and passage. A bill may not be read finally for passage until at least five legislative days after having been submitted for review and two days after placement on final reading file and at least one legislative day after final printed copies have reached members' desks.

There are only eleven bill-considering committees, so that they do not get in each other's way. Their chairmen, as members of the committee on order and arrangement, prepare the daily calendar after the close of the period for free introduction of bills and thus can help coordinate committee action with the debate schedule of the house itself.

A further coordination of effort apparently is achieved through the influence of the budget committee whose chairmanship is recognized as one of the, if not the, most powerful positions in the legislature. The general appropriation bill, introduced early, comes to the floor for extended debate and amendment

during the last two or three weeks of the session when the most difficult bills are in their final stages, and it is likely to be the last bill passed.

Fewer Bills, More Laws

All these things have had their effect on the total operation of the legislature. On an average the number of bills introduced in a session is about half that under the former bicameral system. The number of laws passed, however, is somewhat larger than in the bicameral legislature, but are felt by all concerned to be in better form technically and less subject to misinterpretation or to questioning as to constitutionality. As elsewhere, the number of laws needed is on the increase, also as elsewhere, most of them are corrective or amendatory of laws already on the books rather than of new substance. Regular sessions have increased in length somewhat, but this increase is less than 14 per cent, or by an average of about twelve legislative days.

The time-table of the session is rather striking. The deadline for the introduction of bills is enforced. Only seventeen bills in 1949 were introduced after the lapse of the first twenty legislative days, and a number of these were either recommended by the governor or were substitute or consolidated bills presented by committees rather than by members. The size of the job could thus be estimated early in the session.

In the 1947 session about three-fourths of the bills ultimately reported out of committee were so reported by the time the session was barely half over. Similarly, in 1949,

something better than half the bills either to be passed or defeated in the session had already been disposed of when the session was half over, and about three-fourths of them were disposed of when the session was two-thirds of the way along. In general, only the difficult bills were left until late.

In striking contrast to the usual closing days of bicameral sessions, the last two weeks of the session saw only eight bills killed and 36 passed. The figures for the last week were two killed and six passed, and the only bill passed on the last day was the general appropriation bill. The number of bills on the governor's desk at the close of the session, therefore, is amazingly small compared with that usual in other states. Ordinarily the number is well under twenty.

The people of Nebraska have been well satisfied with their single-house legislature, at least until toward the close of the recent session, and they have enjoyed the distinction their state has in being unique in this particular.

There are now proposals for minor constitutional change in the system but no suggestion of returning to bicameralism.

One of the measures to go to the voters in 1950 was passed in the 1949 session. It would amend the constitution to provide for four-year terms, half the members to be elec-

ted every two years, and for fixing the legislative salary by statute—instead of the rather low maximum now embedded in the constitution. It would also permit annual sessions and, if annual, the session in even-numbered years limited to budgetary appropriations and confirmation of appointments.

An initiative petition is in circulation calling for a vote on increasing the legislative membership to somewhere between 75 and 85, and raising the salary. The thought of Nebraskans is thus upon alteration of details without changing the essential features of unicameralism.

Smooth Operation

The 1949 legislature may or may not have made some grievous errors. But in spite of charges of lack of leadership on policy and that in vote trading it was a "fraternity of tolerance," its program did not bog down or end up in the wild confusion common to most bicameral systems. This smooth operation seems to have been characteristic of all sessions of the unicameral system. Sly tricks may be attempted, but the work is so open that they are almost sure to be caught.

Perhaps one of the greatest assets of the Nebraska system is that operations, including those of lobbyists and members alike, are out in the open where newspapers may report them and keep the people of the state currently informed.

Relations Between Governments

*American Municipal Association statement of policy urges cities to take initiative in furthering sound program.**

THE relations between the federal, state and local governments determine the limits on the ability of municipalities to solve their own problems and to serve their citizens. Therefore, progress in American municipal government is dependent on a proper relationship and understanding between the various governmental levels and units.

The need for such an understanding is emphasized by looking at the many areas in which questions of intergovernmental policy and action arise. These include federal-local relations, state-local relations, federal-state relations, metropolitan area problems, county-city relations, inter-city problems and regional relationships.

At least eight major reasons can be found for consideration of the relations between governments in the United States. These are:

1. The competition for revenues,
2. The overlapping and duplication of services,
3. The tendency to split a government into so many independent parts that a given geographic area no longer functions as a single governmental unit,
4. The tremendous effects on local governments of state and federal grants-in-aid,
5. The impact of state and federal standards and state and federal personnel on local affairs,

6. The demand for local services and expenditures growing out of federal programs,

7. The competition for high grade personnel between the federal, state and local governments,

8. The absence of any over-all policy on relations between the levels and units of government.

All these relations and problems are also opportunities—opportunities for initiative and constructive public action, serving the general community.

There is no inherent antagonism between the federal government, the states and the municipalities. The business of these levels of government is a joint business. In its over-all aspects, government should be conducted as if it were concerned with all of the people and with due regard for its impact on the individual citizen where he lives.

STATEMENTS OF POLICY

Federal-Municipal Relations

The American Municipal Association suggests the following principles and actions as a basis for federal-municipal relations:

1. The National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, proposed by S. 1946, should be enacted at the earliest possible date. Clarification of the difficult questions arising between federal and local governments can be accomplished best by such a commission. Few activities are more urgent or more important as a means of proving that a democratic federal government

*Adopted December 2, 1949, by the American Municipal Association, national federation of state leagues of municipalities, at its convention in Cleveland.

can work effectively and harmoniously. The commission must have direct representation by municipal officials.

2. Congress should enact legislation at once to provide for payments in lieu of taxes on federally owned property. The present exemptions not only deprive municipalities of money to which they are entitled but also create an unfair burden on those communities where disproportionate amounts of federally owned property are located. The need for equity between municipalities is at least as important as the revenue to be derived from such payments.

3. Old age and survivors' insurance as provided for in the federal Social Security Act should be extended to local government employees. The extension of the act should make its insurance benefits available to every municipal employee, regardless of the size of the community for which he works and the type of work he is doing. The insurance should be made available as a supplement to existing retirement plans or fill the gap for those who are not members of any retirement system.

4. The admissions and amusements tax now levied by the federal government has every characteristic of a good local tax and should be made available to all municipalities which wish to use it. To accomplish this, the federal government should withdraw from the federal admissions tax or institute a credit device similar to that employed with respect to the inheritance tax.

5. The president of this association is directed forthwith to appoint a committee which shall be charged with the responsibility of studying the effect of federal grants-in-aid upon our municipalities and presenting recommendations as to the policy to be adopted by this association on this question at the next annual meeting.

6. The placement of defense industries, defense establishments or other large scale federal activities in some communities but not in others creates disproportionate burdens. Such burdens should be equalized by compensating federal payments.

7. The federal government should make clear to the cities of the United States what is expected of them in relation to civil defense. The cities must know what kind of local organization is needed and what they will be expected to do if an emergency arises. In working out an over-all plan for civil defense in the United States, the regularly appointed officials of municipalities should not be supplanted or circumvented, nor should the usual channels of authority between the state and local governments be wiped out. The municipalities of the country desire to cooperate in a national program for civil defense, but they need to know what is expected of them. As civil defense measures must operate at the local level in the cities of every state, cities should be consulted and should participate, through their representative organizations, in the formulation of policy and in developing a program based upon an

agreement among federal, state and local representatives.

State-Local Relations

1. The extension of municipal home rule, so that cities may adopt and amend their own charters, is the greatest need in the field of state-local relations. Under the provisions of general state law, municipalities should have the right to prepare and amend their own charters, to decide what activities they want to carry on, to have the form of government they wish and to finance local government in the way they determine locally. The association also reaffirms its 1948 statement on home rule.

2. Municipalities are entitled to fair and adequate representation in their state legislatures. Where constitutional reapportionment is required it should be carried out. Not only do municipalities need representation based on numbers in the state legislature but the municipalities themselves need to take action to see that the representatives elected from cities represent the interests of their municipalities.

3. The structure of local government needs to be simple enough so that any citizen can easily determine the units of government to which he has obligations and from which he may obtain service or protection. This principle should be considered in the formation of appointed independent agencies, boards or commissions. The laws governing annexation of territory should be amended so that annexation may be simple, fair and without undue delay. State laws should

also permit the combination or joining of areas which desire to be brought together into a single government.

4. State legislation should permit voluntary cooperation among municipalities. Such cooperation will usually be brought about by contractual arrangements which will permit one government to perform services for another. This voluntary cooperation will eliminate the necessity for local governments with limited functions and will permit both the centralization of services and the decentralization of authority. The right to make such contractual arrangements will further home rule by permitting voluntary action among municipalities to do things that otherwise would be governed by state or federal law.

5. Some taxes which municipalities can appropriately use are collected best by the state. In such cases consideration should be given to state collection and local sharing of the tax. But the fact that the state is the logical collector of a tax does not give it sole proprietary interest in the revenue from that tax. State aid should have a three-fold objective: to stabilize local revenues, to provide a return to municipalities of money which the state can collect more advantageously than the cities, and to maintain reasonable standards of service for local activities in which the state has an appropriate interest but which cannot be financed from local funds. State fiscal aid, however, should avoid distortion of local services, should encourage local initiative and permit expenditures above the minimum,

should not be used to perpetuate uneconomic local practices and should not impoverish some areas for the benefit of the others. Federal and state taxation must not become so burdensome that local governments do not have enough resources to perform local functions.

6. The state government shall impose no service burdens on municipalities without providing the necessary revenue to perform such services.

7. State governments should refrain from "going over the heads" of municipal governments in establishing hours of work, scales of salaries and working conditions for groups of municipal employees. The hours of work and compensation of all municipal employees should be determined solely by the municipality.

8. The relations between cities and the counties which contain them need to be examined. Differing policies between cities and their related county governments cause difficult law enforcement, encourage tax migration or distribute unfairly the services rendered by government and the revenues to finance them. There are many cases where func-

tions are performed by both the city and the county, or where the city, through its county taxes, pays for services rendered only to county residents outside the city. Therefore, city governments and the counties in which they lie are urged to undertake studies of city-county relationships at once.

Conclusion

The initiative to bring about the most helpful relationships between the municipalities, the states, other local governments and the federal government must come from the municipalities. Within each state the municipalities should agree on a reasonable program of working relationships with the state government. Through the state leagues of municipalities they should seek the accomplishment of such a program. The national program on which the cities should agree and the representation of the cities before the federal Congress should be carried out in a unified, consistent manner in accordance with the principles and objectives laid down in the association's National Municipal Program.¹

¹See the REVIEW, January 1949, page 40; February 1949, page 91.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

79 Places Adopt Manager Plan in 1949

World Total Expected to Pass Thousand in 1950

SEVENTY-NINE American municipalities—78 in the United States and one in Canada—adopted the council-manager form of government during 1949. This brings the world total of places in which the manager plan is in effect to 958, of which 916 are in the United States, including Alaska and Puerto Rico, 38 in Canada, and four in Ireland. At the present rate of adoptions, the world total should pass the thousand mark well before the end of the year.

Chula Vista, California, (5,138) adopted a council-manager charter on November 8, which became effective December 15, 1949.

In **White Plains, New York**, Silas S. Clark, distinguished former mayor, advocates the manager plan for his city, saying that the city now has no executive head but is run by a committee.

Mayor Scott of **Bloomfield, New Jersey**, at induction ceremonies on January 2, urged the council-manager plan as recommended by New Jersey's Commission on Municipal Government.

A preliminary draft of a new charter for **Falls Church, Virginia**, which would formally establish council-manager government, was approved by a special nine-member charter commission on December 26. Falls Church now has a so-called city manager who serves as an advisor to the council. The proposed charter would make the manager the chief executive of the city.

It would also provide a council of seven members elected at large, instead of nine elected by wards as at present.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Myrtle Beach, South Carolina**, has endorsed the council-manager plan and will conduct an educational campaign in its behalf.

Sterling and Delta, Colorado, voted in November in favor of calling charter conventions. **Montrose**, in the same state, defeated a charter revision proposal.

A petition for a special election on the manager plan in **Hot Springs, New Mexico**, was rejected by the city council because the city's population is inadequate to qualify under state law for the plan.

The Utah Taxpayers Association has recommended the council-manager plan for **Salt Lake City**, along with consolidation of certain city departments and other suggestions for reducing the cost of the city's government, which increased 120 per cent in nine years.

Mayor Dorothy McCullough Lee of **Portland, Oregon**, in a radio address late in December, reiterated her belief that the manager plan would be good for that city.

In **California**, **San Luis Obispo** voted down a manager proposal on November 22. **National City** defeated a similar proposal. **Palo Alto** will vote February 21 on a council-manager amendment to the city charter. Under the present charter, adopted in 1909, there are four administrative boards.

St. Jerome, Quebec, has voted to abandon the manager plan.

The 35th annual conference of the International City Managers' Associa-

tion, held December 4-8 at Palm Beach, Florida, set a new record of attendance with 250 city and county managers, over 25 per cent more than the previous high of 199 in 1948. Total registration was 545, as against 413 in 1948. Of the managers present 91 were attending their first ICMA conference. Topics discussed included the art of management, manager relationships with the public, the council and the employees, public reporting, budget making, financing capital improvements, reducing costs, fringe areas, use of advisory aids, housing and redevelopment, parking and traffic, county management problems, and special questions affecting cities in different population groups.

New York City Sets up Economy Commission

Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City on January 10 appointed a special committee of 20 members (later increased to 25) "to conduct a comprehensive survey of the entire municipal government in an effort to achieve the greatest amount of efficiency and economy possible, consistent with the maintenance of adequate public service in future years."

The committee includes seven city officials or employees, the other members being business executives and representatives of industry, labor and civic organizations. It is headed by Lazarus Joseph, city comptroller. Among the civic representatives are George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the Citizens Union and associate secretary of the National Municipal League, and Mrs. Ralph B. Morris, president of the New York City League of Women Voters. The Citizens Budget Commission and the Commerce and Industry Association are also represented.

The mayor stated that the committee will make plans for an over-all survey and will be empowered to recommend to the Board of Estimate the employment of specialists and use of city employees to make the actual study. It is expected to select some independent research agency which would send investigators into all branches of the city government, including the Board of Education and the Board of Transportation, to see where better work could be done at less expense. After knowing the results of such a survey the committee would submit recommendations to the Board of Estimate for final action.

In congratulating the mayor on his action the *New York Herald Tribune* mentioned that two years ago, also at the mayor's request, the Citizens Budget Commission had made an intensive study of five important city departments, followed by reports and recommendations for reforms calculated to produce substantial savings, a small percentage of which have thus far been achieved.

A pending reclassification and salary study of the city's civil service may be incorporated in the new committee's program of study.

On January 3 William Reid, former chairman of New York's Board of Transportation, assumed the post of deputy mayor and embarked on a financial survey of all city departments with a view to possible savings without detriment to public service. His first object of inquiry was the Board of Education and he announced his intention to investigate other city departments or agencies with the aid of trained employees. Mr. Reid has had long and varied experience in New York City administration and is regarded as an authority on the city's finances.

Revised Charter for Tarrytown Merger Drafted

A new charter of 220 pages for the city to result from the proposed merger of the villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown, Westchester County, New York, has been prepared for action by the state legislature. It has been revised from a prior draft, vetoed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey last April because of violating the state constitution in various respects.

Merit System Urged for Town Clerks

At its annual meeting the National Institute of Municipal Clerks adopted a resolution to work for placing town clerks under civil service. As these officers should be well informed on municipal laws and actions, it was felt that tenure is important and that such positions should be filled on a basis of ability.

Montana League to Hold Regional Meetings

The board of directors of the Montana Municipal League decided on November 19 to conduct a series of regional meetings of city officials throughout the state to work out the league's program for the coming legislative session. City Manager M. E. Henderson, of Bozeman, was named league president to succeed former Mayor J. R. Wine, Jr., of Helena, who has resigned to become a major in the U. S. Air Corps.

Maryland League Sets Legislative Goals

At its second annual convention, held in Baltimore November 18-19 and attended by 90 persons representing 27 municipalities, the Maryland League of Municipalities determined upon the following items of legislative policy:

- (1) To do everything possible to

bring about a constitutional convention;

(2) To work for home rule at every legislative session, regular or special;

(3) To obtain technical advisory service for Maryland municipalities similar to that of Tennessee;¹

(4) To study the question of general legislation to limit damage suits against municipalities.

Inter-American Congress of Municipalities to Meet

The third meeting of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities, after an eight-year lapse because of the war and its consequences, will take place in New Orleans in May, at the invitation of Mayor de Lesseps S. Morrison. The program is expected to emphasize the following subjects: relations between municipalities and higher government levels especially as regards finances, the role of cities in public housing, city planning and the city traffic problem.

The North American representative of the Congress is Herbert Emmrich, director of the Public Administration Clearing House in Chicago.

Intern Program in Glendale, California

A cooperative undertaking by the city of Glendale, California, and Occidental College has been instituted to assist senior and graduate students to train for a public service career, according to *Western City*.

Political science students, referred by the college and selected by Glendale's personnel division, are placed in various city offices according to their educational specialization and field of interest. They are assigned duties for which they receive college credits but no other compensation.

¹See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 403.

South Dakota Authorizes City Planning Commissions

The 1949 session of the South Dakota legislature adopted enabling legislation (chapter 198) permitting any incorporated city or town to create a planning commission by ordinance, if authorized by popular referendum. The commission is required to prepare and adopt a master plan.

Oklahoma to Vote on Constitutional Convention

The question of calling a constitutional convention in Oklahoma will be submitted to the voters at the November 1950 general election in accordance with a senate joint resolution adopted late in the 1949 Oklahoma legislative session. If a majority voting on the proposition approves, a special election will be held in September 1951 for the purpose of choosing convention delegates.

A resolution requesting the legislature and the governor to submit the question of a convention to the people was overwhelmingly approved prior to the 1949 legislature at a meeting of the State Legislative Council and the Citizens Advisory Committee, appointed by the governor to meet with the council to consider reports on constitutional revision.

In 1947, although a legislative proposal to submit the question of a convention to the people had been killed by a veto, the State Senate requested the State Legislative Council to undertake during the intervening two years a comprehensive study of the constitution and to submit a report and its recommendations to the legislature at the beginning of the next legislative session in 1949. This work was promptly undertaken.

The Legislative Council, under the leadership of L. D. Melton, director, requested of the University of Okla-

homa that Professor H. V. Thornton, director of the Bureau of Government Research at the University, be permitted to direct the studies. The instructions of the council laid emphasis upon studies rather than upon the drafting of a new constitution or articles thereof. With the assistance of the Oklahoma Bar Association and staff members of the Departments of Political Science of the University of Oklahoma, A. & M. College, Tulsa University and East Central State College, 21 studies were completed.

The Citizens Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention, organized in 1946 and in effect a federation of several statewide civic organizations, is being reorganized and enlarged for the purpose of securing a favorable vote in November.

H. V. THORNTON
Bureau of Government Research
University of Oklahoma

New Mexico Reapportionments; Other Constitutional Changes

The legislature of New Mexico proposed in its 1949 session ten amendments to the state constitution. At a special election on September 20 seven were adopted.

Amendment No. 10—far from the least important—involved reapportionment for the legislature. It was adopted, 17,560 to 10,671, but was severely criticized by the Division of Research of the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico in a published study of the ten proposals. The membership of the House of Representatives is increased from 49 to 55, the six added seats going to four counties much underrepresented on a population basis. In some instances a county in New Mexico constitutes a single district with one or more representatives, but there are also many districts that

cross county lines. The reapportionment does not change the districts except that one two-county district becomes two one-county districts.

The Division of Research points out that even the addition of six representatives to the four counties gives them only twelve representatives out of 55, while their combined population is nearly one-third of the state population.

While apportionment of the House of Representatives is made somewhat more nearly equitable, inequitable representation in the Senate is made much worse. Senate districts have heretofore overlapped county lines to a large extent, with 24 senators from a total of 31 counties, and there has been some recognition of differences in county populations (ranging from 3,000 to 115,000). The reapportionment is frankly on a county basis with one senator from each county—except the newly formed Los Alamos County, which shares a senator with Santa Fe County.

Thus the approach toward more equitable representation of people in the case of the lower house is counteracted by the change in Senate representation, making it more grossly disproportionate than before, while the number of senators is increased from 24 to 31.

Another feature of the amendment is the relinquishment by the legislature of its power to reapportion legislative membership after each federal census. Heretofore it has had such power but has never exercised it. A reapportionment in the form of a constitutional amendment was proposed by the legislature in 1941, but it was defeated at the polls. Now the legislature gives up even the right to reapportion except by submission of another amendment.

The subjects of the other amendments adopted include: authority for

the legislature to provide for absentee voting; a highway commission of five members appointed by the governor for six-year overlapping terms, from five districts, instead of the present commission of three members directly responsible to the governor; increase in jurisdiction of probate courts; the \$2,000 property tax exemption of veterans changed to include community property of husband and wife; permission for city-county consolidation;¹ the state board of regents for educational institutions to be appointed by the governor for six-year overlapping terms.

Amendments defeated would have permitted the legislature to fix the salaries of district court judges, now frozen at \$4,500; required severance taxes in excess of \$2,000,000 per annum to go into a permanent fund; and increased legislative salaries from \$10 per day for regular and special sessions (\$600 for biennial 60-day regular sessions) to \$20 per day plus \$600 per annum.

California to Vote on Court Reorganization

A proposed constitutional amendment to be passed upon by the people of California in November of this year would effect a reorganization of the lower courts of that state. In a report on an explanation of the amendment by Chief Justice Phil S. Gibson of the California Supreme Court, it is pointed out in *Western City* for December that there are now 768 courts in that state below the Superior Court, consisting of six kinds of city courts and two kinds of township courts, with concurrent and overlapping jurisdiction within a given governmental subdivision, and with most of them on a part-time basis.

Under the proposal each county

¹See also page 100, this issue.

will be divided into districts, with a single court in each district of as many judges as necessary.

Ohio Valley Commission Reports Anti-Pollution Gains

The Ohio River Valley Water Sanitation Commission, formed under an eight-state compact signed June 30, 1948, by representatives of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Virginia, states in its first annual report that it had helped promote a new pollution law in Ohio, which for the first time gave the State Health Department power to enforce pollution abatement.

New York also strengthened its control over stream pollution through the passage of comprehensive legislation. Important changes were incorporated in the Illinois laws during the year to permit the state more aggressive action against pollution offenders.

Findings were completed leading to recommendations for pollution abatement measures in the Pittsburgh and Huntington, West Virginia, areas of the Ohio River. Other types of action were taken to prevent discharge of wastes from industrial plants.

Tennessee, which participated in the original compact negotiations, may soon become a party to the pollution abatement work provided Alabama and North Carolina join the compact.

In its first year the commission operated on a budget of \$40,000. Budgets for fiscal years 1949-50 and 1950-51 have been set at \$100,000. Its support comes from the states in the compact, based on population and land area within the district.

State Government Council Suggests Legislative Program

The legislative drafting committee of the Council of State Governments

has made several proposals for legislation to the twelve state legislatures meeting this year. Eleven legislatures — in California, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia — meet in regular sessions in 1950. Georgia plans a special session in mid-January.

The majority of the proposals grew out of suggestions by the states and federal administrative agencies and were drafted by the committee with the aid of the U. S. Department of Justice.

Suggestions of the committee include: State government budgeting of federal grants-in-aid, exchange of tax information, legislation for uniform support of dependents regardless of state residence, requirement that refusal of an officeholder to testify concerning his office because of possible self-incrimination would bar him from office for five years, and return of mentally ill persons to their home states.

Puerto Rico Commission Urges Administrative Changes

The Commission for the Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Puerto Rican government has recently made recommendations for more efficient government, similar in general principles to those resulting from the study of the executive branch of the United States government recently completed by the Hoover Commission.

The Council of State Governments reports that of the reorganization study groups set up this year, Puerto Rico was the first to complete its work. Together with Puerto Rico and Hawaii, 23 states provided for surveys of governmental operations in 1949.

At the present time there are 82 separate agencies reporting to the governor. The commission recommended

reducing this number to 23 by abolishing 29, transferring 22 more into other departments or agencies and eliminating eight other boards of directors or governing boards.

Recommendations concerning the island's seventeen public corporations would increase the responsiveness of the corporations to the governor by giving him power to appoint and remove the directors. At the same time the corporations would be left with the administrative flexibility they need.

Further recommendations would increase the authority of the governor who, until made an elective officer in 1948, was appointed from Washington, for which reason the elected legislature had been reluctant to allow him sufficient authority. His powers were largely subject to approval of the executive council, made up of department heads. The council alone has more than 100 separate duties assigned to it by statute, the commission noted. Among its recommendations concerning the governor were that all functions of the executive council, with the exception of the delineation of election districts, should be transferred to the governor with authority to delegate where necessary and that the governor should divest himself of minor routine duties by delegating them to other officials. The positions of executive assistant and administrative assistant for liaison with the corporations were recommended. An *ex-officio* Council of Economic Advisors was also suggested.

Constitutional Convention to Meet in Hawaii

A primary election to make nominations for a Hawaii constitutional convention will be held on February 11, with final election of delegates on March 21. The convention, to consist of 63 delegates, is to meet on April

4. It was provided for at the last session of the territorial legislature "in order that Hawaii may be admitted in the union on an equal footing with the original states."

Congress Urged to More Efficiency

In line with efforts of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (the Hoover Commission) recommendations for improved organization of Congress have recently been proposed by the National Committee for Strengthening Congress. The chief suggestion is establishment of a joint standing committee on the organization of Congress.

In a communication to all members of Congress shortly before resumption of sessions in 1950 the committee, through Robert Heller, its chairman, said: "The work of the LaFollette-Moroney committee and the legislative reorganization act of 1946 which it fathered went far to strengthen internal organization and operation. But the experience of the last three years and especially of the past session indicates that strengthening the Congress should be a continuous process and that much remains to be done to increase its efficiency."

The committee particularly emphasized the need of modernizing the rules of the Senate, which have had no general revision and little important modification since 1884. A special appeal was made for a new rule requiring senators to adhere to the subject under discussion and to forego the "luxury" of irrelevancy in debate.

Other recommendations included reduction of the volume of work imposed upon Congress, better control by Congress over executive expenditures and increase in party responsibility.

County and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck**St. Louis County Charter Plan Voted*****Commission Provides Elected Supervisor and Council of 7***

THE St. Louis County, Missouri, Charter Commission has announced that by unanimous vote it has decided to propose a "council-supervisor" form of government under which both the seven-man county council and the county supervisor would be elective. The council would be the legislative body, with the supervisor handling administrative matters subject to its approval. At present, the three-member county court functions as both the legislative and administrative body. Both council members and the supervisor would serve four-year terms, with one council member chosen from each of the county's seven legislative districts.

The charter will be submitted to the voters at a special election this year. Date of the election has not yet been set.

Executive and administrative work would be organized into departments and divisions under the supervisor. The charter would establish a merit system for employees in the departments of public health, public welfare, hospitals and parks and recreation. The charter commission has agreed that the council must establish the merit system by November 1, 1952. Possible extension of the system to other departments is still under discussion.

The following county officers would continue to be elective for four-year terms: assessor, circuit clerk, collector, county clerk, coroner, constables, highway engineer, public administra-

tor, prosecuting attorney, recorder of deeds, sheriff, superintendent of schools and treasurer.

The charter also will carry provisions for initiative, referendum and recall elections and for its amendment.

Buchanan County Citizens Lose Charter Battle

The campaign for adoption of a county manager charter in Buchanan County, Missouri, resulted in its defeat last November by a vote of 11,010 to 7,114.

The campaign began in 1945 when the Citizens' Good Government Association took the initial step — that of securing the required number of names on petitions (20 per cent of those who voted for president in the last presidential election). About half the number had been secured when the executive secretary resigned and the association was discontinued.

The League of Women Voters attempted to finish the campaign. Another thousand names were secured. It was decided, however, that the first names secured might be declared legally "stale," so the campaign was dropped temporarily.

In January 1948 the League of Women Voters asked other large organizations, men's and women's, to form a citizens committee to initiate a new plan of action. Fourteen organizations accepted the invitation; the group was known as the Buchanan County Charter Committee. Two representatives from each of the fifteen groups formed the planning committee.

In order to secure signatures on the petitions, an office was set up in the Chamber of Commerce with two paid staff members. The campaign started

officially on March 1, 1948. More than six hundred volunteers worked during the three months' campaign. The signed petitions were presented to the county court May 28, 1948, and were declared sufficient by the county clerk on September 18, after he checked every name. The final count of good names was 7,270. The first hurdle was accomplished.

The three members of the circuit court and the probate judge named a charter commission of seven Republicans and seven Democrats — twelve men and two women — on November 18, 1948. At this time the executive committee of the citizens group voted to discontinue its activity until the charter had been drafted. This was a grave mistake — an educational program during the writing of the charter was very necessary.

The charter commission met weekly, committees met between commission meetings, and open hearings were held. The final draft was completed September 15, 1949. During its preparation, P.T.A. organizations, the League of Women Voters, the A.A.U.W., and Women's Chamber of Commerce followed the work of the commission, appeared at hearings, arranged for other interested citizens to appear and in other ways kept in close touch with members of the commission. The four groups attempted to do what the county committee of fifteen organizations was designed to do.

A good charter was written, even though it contained compromises in many places. Upon its completion the County Charter Committee reorganized as the Citizens Charter Committee. It opened an office September 10, 1949, in the center of town, with one paid secretary, a speakers' bureau and an election day organization.

The committee had complete cooperation of the newspapers. A daily

article explaining each section of the charter, a daily question and answer box on the front page, and pictures, editorials and news stories appeared regularly. A full page advertisement was run the day before election. Speakers appeared before practically all organized groups, special groups and on the radio.

In addition to radio time bought, the stations arranged four debates. The money to finance this campaign (\$2,075) was raised through contributions by more than 150 interested citizens. Prominent citizens made public statements through the press. Late in the campaign the Chamber of Commerce appointed a legislative committee of fifteen prominent men who voted unanimously to endorse the charter. The Junior Chamber of Commerce came out for it and assisted.

On the Saturday before election, students from high school and college government classes were stationed on prominent street corners from 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. with a questionnaire, checking the yes and no answers to:

Are you interested in the county charter?

Do you believe in home rule?

Do you want your taxes lowered?

Will you vote "yes" for the charter on Tuesday?

An old horse and buggy were driven through the main streets on the Saturday and Monday before election with signs on each side reminding people to vote "yes" and saying, "We took the horse and buggy off the streets; let's take it out of our county government."

Literature used was as follows:

1. A folder, "Voters Know Your Charter," explaining the charter by means of a chart,

2. A folder with short statements and pertinent questions answered,

directed at the farm vote and distributed to every rural box,

3. Large charts for speakers,
4. "Salient Points of the County Charter,"
5. Window and automobile cards,
6. Cards for use at factories, etc.

The vote was the largest ever cast locally in a special election. The results of the educational campaign were reflected in the urban vote of approximately 7,000 against and 6,000 for, while in the suburban sections, where it was difficult to inform voters, the vote was three to one against.

The opposition came from the court house and city hall organization. It advanced no constructive argument; fantastic tales and misrepresentation confused the people. It did a thorough job of that. Only two organized groups officially opposed the charter—the A. F. of L. and "The Friends of the Constitution." The C.I.O. took no action.

There is just one conclusion: more people must become informed before another attempt to modernize our county government is made. Our state constitution provides that a new start can be initiated in two years.

GERTRUDE B. SUTHERLAND
St. Joseph League of Women Voters

Texas Counties Cooperate with Cities

Nueces County, Texas, and the city of Bishop recently began construction of a new municipal-county building that will house county, city and school district officials. Hamilton County, Texas, recently voted an annual contribution to the Hamilton city fire department for rural protection, and Jim Wells County is considering the construction of a city-county tuberculosis hospital.

Two Virginia Counties Consider Manager Plan

In Fairfax and Chesterfield Counties, Virginia, renewed attempts are being made to adopt home rule charters embodying the manager plan of government. Discussions in Fairfax constitute a renewal of efforts of former years, while in Chesterfield the proposals have been rejected by referendum vote on three prior occasions.

Various individuals and civic associations are conducting a series of meetings in Fairfax County to educate the people on the advantages of the manager plan. In Chesterfield County, the board of supervisors, by a four to two vote, decided to request the state legislature to permit continuation of election of supervisors by districts rather than at large as provided in the county manager law. When neighboring Henrico County adopted the manager plan some years ago it secured such an exception by special legislative action.

City-County Consolidation Wins in New Mexico

The proposed constitutional amendment permitting city-county consolidation in New Mexico¹—applying only to Albuquerque and Bernalillo County because of a population limitation—was approved at a referendum in September by a vote of 15,140 in favor of the proposal to 11,974 against it.

County Planning in Maryland Continues

County planning in Maryland made significant strides forward in 1949. In addition to the Wicomico County Planning Commission, establishment of which was previously noted in this

(Continued on page 113)

¹See also the REVIEW, October 1949, page 458.

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**Cincinnati Chooses
'Charter' Council****Medford and Lowell Elect
P. R. Legislative Bodies**

THE thirteenth P. R. election of Cincinnati's nine-member city council accomplished much—with an economy of effort.

First, it returned a majority of councilmen supported by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee to control of the city's affairs for another two years, thus insuring continuity for the Charter group's efforts to carry out Cincinnati's new Master Plan.

Second, for the first time in the city's history it brought two Negroes into the city's ruling body.

Third, it again demonstrated the sureness with which P. R. effects turnover without revolution or chaos. Only six of the nine men who took office January 1, 1948, resumed office January 1, 1950. Of the three who retired, only one did so voluntarily.

Fourth, it gave the lie to the pontificating Cassandras who throughout the campaign croaked, "Little interest—less votes," the total vote, 167,482, coming within 2½ per cent of the city's all time high.

Fifth, it established rather convincingly the ineffectiveness of mere money expenditure in influencing P. R. results, three of the four most expensive personal campaigns ending in defeat and the winning group campaign being by far the most economical one.

Sixth, it again exposed the weakness of one of the claims most loudly advanced against P. R. in Cincinnati, that it promotes Jewish and Catholic

block voting. A majority of the ballots transferred from eliminated Catholic candidates went in each instance to non-Catholics, and less than one-sixth of the transfer of one of the two Jewish candidates went to the second.

Seventh, it revealed the terrific pressure to which national party adherents—in this instance supporters of Senator Robert A. Taft—are subjected in purely local matters, the entire campaign of the machine opposition which has dogged the Charter group since its inception 25 years ago again being built around the theme, "You can't have a Republican on Capitol Hill or in the White House unless you put them in city hall."

Eighth, it provided a personal triumph for the Charter majority leader, Charles P. Taft, younger brother of Senator Taft, who was subjected to incredibly vile abuse and contumely because of his support of Mayor Albert D. Cash, long time Charter associate and national Democrat.

Finally, it proved once more the superior drawing power of Charter candidates on transfers from eliminated candidates, Charter outgaining its opponents three to two in these transfers, thereby bolstering the Charter group's confidence in its community wide support.

Twenty-two candidates entered the race, the Charter group and its machine opposition both entering full tickets, with four independents. The total first choice vote: City Charter Committee, 80,444; Organization Republican, 74,531; independents, 3,315.

Mayor Cash ran high in first choices with 22,107, approximately 50 per cent more than his total in 1947. His pred-

ecessor in the mayoralty, on the other hand, Carl W. Rich, leader of the opposition, dropped nearly 40 per cent to 16,115.

Rollin H. Everett, one of the two Charter labor representatives, was defeated, undoubtedly as a result of his anti-Communist activities and his support of the anti-Communist resolution adopted by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its national convention in Cleveland a week before the election. Everett's loss robbed the Charter group of much of the pleasure of its victory, for he had been a courageous and far-sighted councilman.

Election of the second Negro provided enemies of P. R. with a nine-day campaign against the voting system. The campaign drooped, however, for want of big name leadership and was shelved for the time being when examination of the voting returns demonstrated that the Negro elected on the minority machine side owed his election in large measure to his support by the Cincinnati *Times Star* and by voters in the upper income bracket white wards with whom the *Times Star* is a religion.

The three novices in the new council lineup — Theodore M. Berry, Douglas Allen and Potter Stewart — have one thing in common, their youth. Beyond that their election is significant chiefly because of the divergence of their routes to office.

Berry, first Negro to be elected on the Charter ticket, is a leading lawyer, an eloquent speaker and a long time leader in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Allen, a *Times Star* reporter and socialite, was placed in council chiefly by the tireless front page campaign waged in his support by his employer, Hulbert Taft, *Times Star* publisher. A minor contributing factor may have been an error in Charter strategy.

From the outset Allen devoted himself to a campaign of sensational, front page headline "charges" against the Charter ticket, incumbent Charter councilmen and the Charter Committee. Instead of refuting the charges, as easily could have been done, the Charter group chose to ignore them on the assumption that Allen's recklessness would spell its own defeat. In retrospect the decision appears a mistake.

Stewart, son of former Mayor James Garfield Stewart, now Ohio Supreme Court justice, owed his election primarily to his father's influence and quiet but active campaign in his behalf.

Both Allen and Stewart raided the socialite support which a number of Charter candidates in the past — Charles P. Taft, the late Tylor Field and Russell Wilson, for instance—had enjoyed. It remains to be seen just how permanent the loss of this support will prove.

Invalid ballots totaled 9,192, or 5.4 per cent of the total vote cast. This is just about the average for invalid ballots in the P. R. elections held to date.

The count was completed in the customary six-day period, final results being known Sunday night and made official Monday noon.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Medford Holds First P. R. Election

A city council of seven and a school committee of six were elected in the first P. R. election in Medford, Massachusetts, last November. The election was preparatory to the inauguration, in January, of the city's Plan E government—council-manager plan with P. R., adopted at the polls in November 1947.

As has been the case in other cities using P. R. for the first time, there

was a large number of candidates for the seven council seats—83. Nineteen of these were eliminated at an early stage because they obtained fewer than 50 first choice votes.

Differing from the experience of Worcester and some of the other P. R. cities, the seven candidates elected were those that stood highest on first choices. One of them, Arthur Dello Russo, president of the outgoing board of aldermen, was elected on the first count, receiving votes in excess of the quota necessary for election.

Only two of the seven new councilmen were endorsed by the Medford Plan E Civic Association, which had sponsored the new charter and supported eleven candidates. Charles M. Doherty, president of the association, reports, however, that his organization regards a majority of the council as favorable to its objectives and approves the council's selection of James F. Shurtliff, town manager of nearby Saugus, as city manager.

There were nineteen candidates for the six school committee seats and, again, those elected led the poll throughout the count, one of them receiving sufficient first choices for election on the first count. One of the unsuccessful candidates was a write-in, who stood seventh on first choices and picked up about two hundred transfers during later stages of the count so that he was next to the last to be eliminated.

Total votes cast in the councilmanic election numbered 25,355, of which 635, 2.5 per cent, were invalid. Of the 25,351 votes cast for school board, 1,110, or 4.4 per cent, were invalid. In its editorial of November 18, "Some P. R. Observations," the Medford *Mercury* commented that: "P. R. was mastered by the voters. The low number of invalidated ballots in the council count, about 3 per cent, was remarkable for a

first election. As a matter of fact, the experts figured that Medfordites would cast about 15 per cent invalid ballots. The record demonstrates that there is nothing inherently difficult about voting under P. R."

Democratic Council Majority Chosen by Lowell

Candidates of the Democratic party obtained a five-to-four majority on the Lowell, Massachusetts, city council at the November P. R. election, to score their first such success since adoption of Plan E in 1943. The vote has been close throughout that period and Democratic candidates had already succeeded in obtaining a majority of the seats on the school committee, also elected by P. R., in 1947.

The 1949 election brought three new faces to the council, all Democrats. One of them, George C. Eliades, who had made the race unsuccessfully in 1947, led the poll. Four of the five Republican councilmen were re-elected, but Woodbury F. Howard, original chairman of the pro-Plan E organization and first mayor under the new charter, was defeated, although he stood ninth by a narrow margin on first choices.

Four new members were elected to the school committee by the 1949 P. R. election, one of them, Arthur L. Eno, Jr., leading the poll. Three incumbents, two Democrats and one Republican, were among the defeated contestants for the six seats.

Approximately 73 per cent, 38,818, of the registered voters went to the polls. There were 49 candidates for council, of whom seven obtained less than 50 first-choice votes. School committee candidates numbered 31.

The Lowell *Sun* covered all aspects of the election with characteristic skill in daily reports during the five

(Continued on page 116)

Taxation and Finance . . .

• Edited by Wade S. Smith

State-Local Debt Reaches New Peaks

Postwar Increase Follows Substantial War Decline

THE gross debts of state and local governments reached new peaks in 1949, according to the annual compilation of the Bureau of the Census,¹ postwar borrowing having by June 30 more than offset the reduction which occurred during the war years. State debt, amounting to \$4,024,000,000, was 14.1 per cent above the earlier peak, established in 1940, while local debt at \$16,851,000,000 was 8/10 of 1 per cent above its previous peak, also reached in 1940.

Although state and local debts both increased in the decade 1940-49, the rise in local debt was less rapid than the rise in population during that period, and the state increase just matched the population increase. Local debt amounted to \$113 per capita compared with \$127 in 1940, while state debt was \$27 per capita in both years. Local debt had its per capita peak in 1932, at \$134, while in the same year state debt had equalled \$23 per capita. State-local debt combined in 1949 was \$140 per capita compared with \$154 in 1940 and \$157 in 1932.

The postwar increase followed a substantial decline during the war period, when labor, materials and supplies for improvements were scarce and state and local borrowing dropped to a low level. State debt dropped 33.1 per cent from 1940 to its low June 30, 1946, while the decline for local debt,

covering the same period, was 18.9 per cent. For state-local debt combined, the reduction 1940-46 equalled 21.4 per cent.

The table following, summarized from Census Bureau data, shows the trend for selected years from 1922, illustrating the sharp rise through 1932, the moderate change during the remainder of the decade, the wartime decline and the postwar rise.

| Year | State and Local Debt (Amounts in millions) | | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| | State | Local | Total |
| 1922 | \$1,163 | \$ 9,093 | \$10,256 |
| 1930 | 2,444 | 16,015 | 18,459 |
| 1932 | 2,896 | 16,680 | 19,576 |
| 1940 | 3,526 | 16,720 | 20,246 |
| 1946 | 2,358 | 13,564 | 15,922 |
| 1947 | 2,978 | 13,847 | 16,825 |
| 1948 | 3,722 | 14,980 | 18,702 |
| 1949 | 4,024 | 16,851 | 20,875 |

Not all levels of local government show new peak debts for 1949, it may be noted. City debt (including towns, villages, etc.) accounted for \$9,496,000,000 of the 1949 total, compared with \$9,899,000,000 in 1940 and \$9,909,000,000 in 1932. County debt was also below earlier levels, for 1949 amounting to \$1,503,000,000 compared with \$2,156,000,000 in 1940 and \$2,775,000,000 in 1932.

School district debt, on the other hand, was up from 1940 and only just under 1932, the 1949 figure amounting to \$2,147,000,000 compared with \$2,170,000,000 in 1932 and \$1,813,000,000 in 1940. Special district debt, which amounted to only \$639,000,000 in 1922 and \$1,393,000,000 in 1932, and had reached \$2,562,000,000 by 1940, rose to \$3,295,000,000 at the 1949 date.

The increase in special district debt in the face of a decline in city-coun-

¹Governmental Debt in 1949. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, December 1949.

ty debt during the 1932-49 period emphasizes something of the extent to which local governments have turned to the special agency device in the last two decades. Where in the period 1932-49 there was a net decrease of \$1,685,000,000 in combined city-county debt, special district debt showed a net increase of \$1,902,000,000.

Many of the special districts were, of course, established to meet needs best handled by special agencies; many others, however, were created to avoid city and other debt limits, to overcome the inadequacies of powers granted to cities or counties by state laws, to take some favored activity "out of politics," or otherwise for reasons reflecting a growing tendency to add new governmental units rather than revamp existing agencies.

Of the gross local debt of \$16,851,000,000 in 1949, \$7,018,000,000, or 41.6 per cent, was enterprise debt, the obligations incurred for water, light and power, and similar public service enterprises owned by local governments. Enterprise debt accounted for \$4,660,000,000 or 49.1 per cent of city debt and for \$2,307,000,000 or 70.0 per cent of special district debt, with negligible amounts represented by other local units.

A considerable proportion of enterprise debt imposes no additional burden on property, which through the ad valorem general property tax is the principal support of local government debt otherwise, inasmuch as the public enterprises generally finance their debt retirement and interest from service charges.

Although state and local gross debts are each at new peaks for 1949, the decline in state-local borrowing costs made it possible to carry the debt with a lower annual interest charge. For the fiscal year ending in 1948 (1949 data are not yet reported) state

interest costs were estimated at \$87,000,000 compared with \$114,000,000 in 1932, while the local interest cost was \$457,000,000 compared with \$726,000,000 in 1932. For cities only, the interest payments were down from \$419,000,000 for 1932 to \$282,000,000 for 1948.

The state-local debt is, of course, a minor item in comparison with the debt of the federal government in recent years. The public debt of the United States (excluding debt of federal agencies incurred outside the general treasury) amounted at June 30, 1949, to \$252,770,000,000. This was an increase of \$478,000,000 over the 1948 figure but compared with a peak of \$269,422,000,000 in 1946. In 1944 it had been \$42,968,000,000 and, in 1922, \$22,963,000,000. Where the federal debt had represented 69.1 per cent of total public-state-local debt in 1922, and 68 per cent in 1940, for 1949 it accounted for 92.4 per cent.

Federal in-lieu Payments for Canadian Cities

Current interest in efforts of United States local governments to secure payments from the federal government in lieu of property taxes, to offset expenses incurred for servicing federally owned property or because of the presence of federal installations, raises interest in a recently announced formula whereby Canadian cities will receive annual payments in lieu of taxes from the federal government there.

Estimated to amount to about \$5,000,000 annually, the new Canadian in-lieu scheme will necessitate an assessment of federal property throughout, according to a description of the system by the Municipal Finance Officers Association. In the interim, if parliamentary approval is given, cities considered overburdened because of a concentration of federal buildings

within their limits will be given partial payments based on 75 per cent of the estimated value of federal holdings.

The Canadian plan will divide cities into two classes—those in which assessed value of federal property is 4 per cent or less of the total assessment roll and those in which federal property assessment is over 4 per cent of the total. In the latter case the Canadian government believes some abnormal loss of tax revenue is suffered because of federal property.

In cities where federal holdings exceed 4 per cent, the government will calculate the percentage of its own assessment to the total assessment and subtract 4 per cent from this. The remaining percentage of the general tax levy for municipal and school purposes represents the "abnormal revenue loss." Of this total, the federal government will make a grant of 75 per cent to the cities.

Full amount of the revenue loss will not be paid since some benefits accrue to a municipality if federal property is located within its boundaries. Then, too, there is always a proportion of tax-exempt property in the municipality not federally owned.

Certain federal properties will be excluded from the assessment survey by the government including naval and air force establishments which are self-contained, all harbors, canals and lands held in connection with the federal government's responsibility for navigable waters, all parks and parklands and all government owned railroads.

Wisconsin Rural Zoning Brings New Tax Sources

Rural zoning in Wisconsin, originally planned as an economy measure, has become a means of developing new sources of taxable wealth, reports the American Society of Planning Officials.

Wisconsin's first rural zoning ordinance was adopted sixteen years ago in an effort to solve the problem of tax-delinquent land, which in some counties comprised as much as a third of the area. Objectives of zoning were to promote economy in road-building and maintenance and in education and other public services, to guide and direct new settlers to good farmlands and to provide for the best use of all land.

Full authority to enact and administer the zoning ordinances was given to local county boards of supervisors. Four classes of land-use districts were set up and town boards were authorized to determine which land would be placed in each. Land was classified for use as restricted forestry districts from which all farms were excluded, private recreation, commercial recreation and unrestricted use.

Lands that were unused, tax-delinquent, of low value or isolated were the first placed in restricted forestry-use districts and excluded from future agriculture use and legal residence. Settlers that were on these lands were encouraged to move to more productive lands or to urban areas. Nearly 800 isolated families have been relocated since the enactment of rural zoning ordinances and in many cases the purchase cost of their holdings has been returned within a year in saving in road or school costs.

An intensive program of seedling planting was carried out on the marginal land. As new forests have developed, a new and valuable use of the adjacent lands and water has come into being—recreation. Many northern Wisconsin towns that previously had no recreational facilities have proved to be valuable vacation properties, bringing new tax revenues to the communities.

Citizen Action *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Civic Secretaries Meet in St. Paul

Problems of Civic Groups Subject of Round Tables

THE National Association of Civic Secretaries held three "civic clinics" in connection with the National Conference on Government at St. Paul in November. The first, "How to Preserve Good Government," met Sunday evening, November 27, presided over by Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee and president of the civic secretaries group.

Dr. Hayes A. Richardson, director of welfare in Kansas City, Missouri, described the public relations work of his city. He pointed out that his department does much besides handling relief—operation of legal aid, municipal parole, the city market and, most important, recreational and community services.¹ He described the city's organization of community and neighborhood councils and the use of coordinators in various districts of the city, the Junior Citizens Program with teachers and parents as advisors, and the city's relationships with special groups—civic clubs, chamber of commerce, improvement associations.

Dr. Richardson pointed out that efficiency of municipal operation is not enough, that the city must also establish good public relations with its citizens. "Through a public relations program," he said, "the nonpartisan government seeks to interpret its belief in honest, efficient handling of the

people's business through the selection of competent, trained personnel who have the interests of the entire city at heart. . . . Through this interpretation of its program and services the public relations program seeks to secure for itself the support for the continuation of this type of government."

Dr. W. D. Bryant, executive director of community studies in Kansas City, developed the same theme, discussing particularly the aspects of the city's public relations program as carried on through his division.

The talks were followed by general debate and a question and answer period.

Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo, presided over the round table session at 9:20 Monday morning on "Rating and Endorsing Candidates." Rev. H. Ralph Higgins reported on the Grand Rapids "Candidates Rating Scale," distributing a mimeographed memorandum on how the scoring is done by a candidates' committee.² Others who described their organizations' methods or discussed this problem included Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the Citizens League of Cleveland; Chester J. Morse, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League; Edward M. Martin, executive director for civic affairs of the Union League Club of Chicago; Mrs. Theodore Stroud, president of the Des Moines League of Women Voters; L. E. Marlowe of the Richmond Citizens Association; and Mr. Frank.

The 11 A.M. session on Monday.

¹See also "The Children Get a Chance," by Dr. Richardson, the REVIEW, June 1946, page 284.

²See "Local Groups Endorse Candidates," the REVIEW, October 1949, page 467.

"The Problem of Money," was also presided over by Mr. Gregg, who described the attempts of his organization to raise funds. Allen H. Seed, Jr., of Minneapolis discussed the ways and means used by organizations there, in Pittsburgh, Chicago and other cities; Mr. Larcom and Mr. Frank discussed the problem as it affected their groups. Most were agreed that personal contacts are generally necessary to raise funds, especially in securing large contributions.

The following officers of the association were elected for the coming year: president, Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, Municipal League of Toledo; vice presidents, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, Citizens League of Cleveland; William R. Pouder, executive secretary, Tennessee Taxpayers Association; and Roy V. Peel, director, Institute of Politics, Indiana University; secretary-treasurer, Hazelle B. Scott, associate executive director, Allegheny County (Pennsylvania) Civic Club.

With the Women Voters

"The President Knew the Answers" is the caption over a photograph in *Action*, organ of the League of Women Voters of the U. S., picturing Miss Anna Lord Strauss, league president, pinning a "Quiz-Whiz" tag on President Truman. Seems that the President knew the answers to the league's quiz, "What's the U. S. to You?" The new leaflet poses some sixteen problems. "The voter in finding the answers," says *Action*, "learns how he can become active in his political party—how he can have some voice in solving today's important public questions." The quiz is a four-color, comic-book style pamphlet on requirements for voting, how candidates are nominated, etc. (ten cents).

Action also reports that over 1,400

league members interested in voters' service work attended twelve regional conferences over the country.

The League of Women Voters of New York State has opened its legislative campaign for permanent personal registration with a bang. A bill to provide "P. P. R." was introduced in both houses of the state legislature on January 2 and league members are hard at work educating the general public as well as party and state officials on the need for this up-to-date method of registering voters. All round the state, league members are presenting a skit on the subject, "It was Good Enough for Grandpa." Working with the league are the Citizens Union of New York City, the New York Young Republican Club, and other civic groups.

Eight goals—needed reforms in the state's prison system—are listed by the League of Women Voters of Georgia in *Pardon Our Return*. The league is supporting legislation to attain these goals in the 1950 special session of the state legislature.

"Citizens' Date Books" are becoming popular with Leagues of Women Voters. The New Jersey league's 1950 edition is now available at 25 cents. Three by four and a half inches, it fits easily into a handbag or a man's pocket. The League of Women Voters of New York City has available *Notes and Votes 1950*. Somewhat larger than the New Jersey edition, it is an excellent addition to one's desk. The Oregon league has also issued a pocket-size date book. All three contain data on primary and regular elections, registration and voting instructions, with lists of public officials. Each allows ample room for jotting down engagements and other memoranda.

One of the latest in league handbooks is *You Are the Government—A*

Handbook for Minnesota Citizens (96 pages, 25 cents), compiled and distributed by the League of Women Voters of Saint Paul. It sets forth election data and describes the work and services of federal, state and local governments. Costs of government are demonstrated by pie charts; other charts depict the setup of the various levels of government.

Government Pattern Connecticut Style (28 pages, 15 cents) has been published by the League of Women Voters of Connecticut "as a public service for the citizens of Connecticut in the hope that it will give them a clearer picture of the development of Connecticut's pattern of government." Mrs. Elizabeth Budd of Wethersfield was largely responsible for its preparation.

* * *

What Civic Groups Are Doing

Worcester's new city council and school board, elected November 8 by proportional representation, were honored at a dinner in December attended by more than 700 local citizens. Plans for Worcester Civic Night, as it was termed, were headed by the Chamber of Commerce; cooperating were the Worcester Plan E Association and other civic groups. Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati, made the principal address. The new council, a majority of whose members were nominated and supported by the Plan E Association, took office the first of January when Plan E—council manager government with proportional representation — went into effect.

The elections committee of the Citizens Union of New York City has been busily working on a revision of the state election law as it pertains to the requirements for party organization. It expects to have introduced into the legislature proposed amend-

ments which would correct various flaws in the law. The union urges its members to attend meetings of the city council, board of estimate and city planning commission, as well as those of the board of standards and appeals.

Some one hundred of the towns and cities of Connecticut have established community groups to evaluate the state's schools, reports the Council of State Governments. The movement has been initiated by the state Citizens' Fact-Finding Commission on Education, appointed by Governor Bowles and headed by Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*. While the commission has engaged professional consultants, it has sought the widest possible participation among local citizens. Results of the survey are to be made known next fall.

* * *

Conferences—Past and Future

The Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association announces the Fifth Conference on Citizenship, to be held May 21-24, at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C. The *Report on the Fourth National Conference on Citizenship* (112 pages), held in New York May 14-18, 1949, under the auspices of the NEA and the United States Department of Justice, is now available at the NEA office in Washington at 50 cents.

The Citizenship Clearing House, headed by Chief Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt of the New Jersey Supreme Court, held a New England conference in Boston in November. Invited were professors of government from some 50 New England colleges and others interested in civic education. Purpose of the organization is to place outstanding college graduates in touch with leaders of public opinion in their own communities to train them as political leaders.

Voters Plump for First on List

Study Shows Ballot Place May Determine Elections

THE requirement that names of candidates for each office in a primary election shall be rotated, so as to place each name first on about the same number of ballots, is defended on grounds of fairness and equal opportunity. It is accepted as axiomatic that the first place name will obtain some votes that it would not otherwise receive.

Students of elections seem to accept this fact without investigating to find what proportion of an electorate can be depended upon to vote for the first name they see under each office. One candidate with a scientific bent, however, finding himself involved in a recount, analyzed the votes with this question in mind.

William Tyrrell was a candidate for nomination in the 1948 Republican primary for a seat in the Ohio Senate. He had but one opponent, I. E. Baker, who was declared nominated by a slender margin.

While studying the votes reported from each precinct, with the view to deciding where to ask for a recount, Mr. Tyrrell noted that the person whose name came first usually carried the precinct. This result was obvious only in the precincts where voting machines were used. Elsewhere, the effect of rotation could not be determined without noting the position of the name marked on each ballot. But where machines were used, rotations were made by precincts with the result that Mr. Baker's name was first

in 144 voting machine precincts and Mr. Tyrrell's name was first in 128.

The analysis of the votes shows that, even with only two names from which to select, first place is important. Mr. Tyrrell reports: "In the 144 voting machine precincts where Mr. Baker's name appeared on the top line, 7,262 votes were cast. . . . Out of this vote, Mr. Baker received 4,780 votes, or 61.5 per cent of the total, while I received 2,982 votes (38.5 per cent). . . . In the 128 precincts where my name appeared in the top line, 6,218 votes were cast. . . . Out of these I received 3,601 votes or 59.5 per cent of the total while Mr. Baker received 2,617 votes or 40.5 per cent. . . . We found that 8,381 votes, or 59.99 per cent of the total were cast for the name appearing in the top line, while only 5,599 votes, or 40.01 per cent were cast for the name appearing in the second line.

"In observing the number of precincts carried by the two opposing candidates, the importance of the position of the candidate's name is even more apparent. Out of the 144 precincts where Mr. Baker's name appeared in the top line, 128 precincts (88.8 per cent) were carried by Mr. Baker, fourteen precincts (9.72 per cent) were carried by me and two precincts (1.38 per cent) were tied.

"On the other hand, in the 128 precincts where my name appeared in the top line, 103 precincts (80.47 per cent) were carried by me, 19 (14.84 per cent) were carried by Mr. Baker and six (4.69 per cent) were tied. Out of the 272 voting machine precincts 231 (84.92 per cent) were carried by the candidate whose name appeared in the top line, only 33 (12.12 per cent) were carried by the candidate whose name appeared

in the second line, and eight (2.96 per cent) were tied."¹

More data on this aspect of voting behavior should be collected. There may be too many variables to form definite conclusions concerning the proportion of voters who are addicted to this form of blind voting. Conceivably, the proportion will be found to vary inversely with the importance — as viewed by the voters — of the office, or with the amount of publicity given to the contest. The extent of this chance marking of ballots may also vary with the total number of offices for which nominations are to be made.

It may be assumed that each participant in a primary election favors the nomination of some candidate for one or more of the offices. But many of the names on our prevalent long ballots elicit no spark of recognition from a large proportion of the voters. They mark an X or pull the lever preceding the first name on the list of candidates for the office. Admittedly, blind voting may take other forms, such as picking names suggesting an approved national origin.

Before we ask for a larger turnout of eligible voters at elections, or urge compulsory voting laws, we need to learn more about the voting habits of those who do cast their ballots.

HOWARD WHITE

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

Another Workmanlike Budget. The League Analyzes Pittsburgh's 1950 School Budget. Pittsburgh, Pennsyl-

¹Tyrrell was finally declared to have won the Republican nomination, but was defeated in the general election by his Democratic rival.

vania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter*, November 1949. 5 pp.

Milwaukee's Local Governments Need Analysis Throughout the Year. Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, December 3, 1949. 2 pp.

"Performance Budgets" Point the Way to Better Budget Control. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, December 15, 1949. 2 pp.

Statements Made at the City of Chicago Public Budget Hearing, Sanitary District of Chicago Public Budget Hearing, Chicago Park District Public Budget Hearing, Chicago Board of Education Public Budget Hearing. Chicago, Civic Federation, *Bulletin*, December 9, 13, 17 and 22, 1949. 8, 5, 4 and 5 pp. respectively.

Council-Manager Plan

Council-Manager Government in Wisconsin. Arguments For and Against Manager Plan, How Council-Manager Type Government Works. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer*, November 1949. 8 pp.

The Council-Manager Plan. A Summary of the Major Arguments Pro and Con. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, December 6, 1949. 5 pp.

Crime

Bringing the Criminal to Justice. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government*, December 15, 1949. 3 pp.

Debt

Bonded Indebtedness of the State of New Mexico and Its Governmental Units. Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *Tax Bulletin*, December 1949. 9 pp.

Capital Improvements and City Debt. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, October 1949. 4 pp.

Maryland State Debt and Public Improvements. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, December 7, 1949. 2 pp.

Education

Pay For Teachers. "We cannot afford to go on budgeting so little for teachers' salaries." Toronto, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, December 1949. 5 pp.

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns and Cities. Including Data for the School Year 1948-1949. Hartford, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, December 1949. 33 pp., tables.

Supervision of School Finance. A Study of Educational Administration in Kentucky. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 19 pp., tables.

Firemen

About Reducing Hours for Firemen. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, December 21, 1949. 4 pp.

Health

Study the Alternatives for Coordinated Health Service in Milwaukee County! Milwaukee, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, December 15, 1949. 2 pp.

Federal Reorganization

The Hoover Commission Reports (I and II). By Herman Finer. New York 27, Columbia University, Academy of Political Science, *Political Science Quarterly*, September and December, 1949. 15 and 17 pp. respectively.

Judicial Councils

Judicial Councils. (Including charts summarizing provisions of state laws regarding membership, compensation, expenses and staff.) Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 35 pp.

Land Use

Industrial Land Supply in the Kalamazoo Area. Four Fringe Townships. By Samuel V. Bennett and Thomas W. Froom. Kalamazoo, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1949. 13 pp., charts, tables.

Libraries

People Without Books. An Analysis of Library Services in Mississippi. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1950. 47 pp.

Liquor Control

Municipal Liquor Dispensaries. Minneapolis, Municipal Reference Bureau and League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1949. 28 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

What Metropolitan Legislation Means to Boston. Boston, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, December 13, 1949. 4 pp.

Mining

Strip Mining in Kentucky. Good or Bad for Kentucky? Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1949. 54 pp., illus.

Parking

Off-Street Parking. Newark, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Memo*, December 16, 1949. 2 pp.

Public Records

Public Records Management. (Guide posts and goals for administrators and others in installation and maintenance of effective records programs with selected bibliography.) By Philip C. Brooks. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1949. 19 pp. \$1.

Public Welfare

New Jersey's Institutional Needs. An Appraisal of 101 Construction Projects Proposed by the Department of Institutions and Agencies. (By a committee of industrial building engineers which included A. B. Heiser, chief draftsman, American Can Company; E. I. Merrill, plant engineer,

Johns-Manville Corporation; and R. W. Doering, advisory engineer, Westinghouse Electric Corporation.) Trenton, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1949. 46 pp., tables.

Secret Sessions

When Should Public Bodies Meet in Private? Toronto, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs*, December 8, 1949. 4 pp.

Taxation and Finance

The "A B C" of Fall River's Tax Rate and Budget. Fall River, Massachusetts, The Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin*, December 1949. 5 pp.

Indiana Counties—Property Taxes. Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association, December 1949. 8 pp., tables.

Major California Taxes. A Digest of California's Tax Laws. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1949. 28 pp.

Property Tax Rates of Missouri Municipalities and Counties — Third Annual Tabulation. Jefferson City, Missouri Public Expenditure Survey, December 1949. 5 pp., tables.

Rising State Expenditures. Little Rock, Arkansas Public Expenditure Council, *You and Your Government*, December 1949. 5 pp., tables.

Tax Calendar for Minneapolis and Minnesota. Index to Tax and License Information Most Frequently Needed. Minneapolis, Taxpayers Association, 1949. 12 pp.

Veterans

Cash Bonuses for Veterans. A Survey. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook*, December 1949. 4 pp.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 100)

section, a similar commission has been established in Howard County. The latter immediately initiated a survey of school facilities and needs. The Baltimore County Planning Commis-

sion has developed transportation plans and subdivision regulation during the past year. The St. Mary's County Planning Commission has concentrated on zoning and land-use problems.

Wisconsin Considers County-Wide Assessment

Alfred R. Ludvigsen, chairman of the Wisconsin State Legislative Council, recently asserted that action must be taken to reduce the inefficiency and inequity of the present local property assessment procedure. He is seeking "major changes in the method of selecting assessors and improvement in their valuation procedures." He commented, "We find inequity in the assessment of property so common that it looms as one of the greatest weaknesses in our tax system."

Many small tax districts elect their assessors on a part-time basis. Proposals to enlarge the areas to a county-wide basis and to appoint assessors under the merit system have failed up to the present time.

County Road Association Succeeds in Michigan

The County Road Association of Michigan, whose membership consists of county highway administrators, has succeeded in raising standards in the secondary road program, informing the public on highway needs and co-ordinating the activities of state and county highway agencies, according to an article in *Better Roads*.

The association was formed in 1918 and all 83 county road commissions are now members. Counties pay from \$300 per year upward for membership in return for which they receive technical assistance through expert counsel and advice, highway development information through bulletins, training through special courses and schools and better representation before departments of the state government.

Books in Review

Congress on Trial. The Legislative Process and the Administrative State. By James MacGregor Burns. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1949. ix, 224 pp. \$3.

Professor Burns, now in Williams College, served in recent years as legislative assistant to a congressman and in various other capacities which gave him opportunities for first-hand observation of the workings of Congress.

He begins with a photographically vivid picture of the typical representative dominated by home district considerations to the detriment of his devotion to either his national party's concepts or the welfare of the nation. He recites Congress's difficulties of getting on with business, the feebleness of leadership and its dependence on the president to bring results from chaos. Much of the complaint is, of course, long familiar but here comes freshly documented.

The remedy which the author leads up to, with an undertone of hopelessness, is to reorganize our parties into some likeness to the British parties with their dominant central committees whose right to select and discipline candidates from all parliamentary districts even includes power to expel from party membership.

Neglecting to question the workability of that setup in so vast, far-flung and diverse a population as that of the United States, Professor Burns proposes that central party management here use party funds and federal patronage to enforce a requirement of central approval of candidates and respect for centrally determined party doctrines. "Real control of public policy would pass to the central party leadership. . . . The Senate and House chiefs, including committee chairmen,

would be party agents loyal to the national party platform. . . . It would change Congress even further from a policy-making to a policy-ratifying body."

But in the next breath he admits his scheme might do more harm than good "unless it was coupled with participation in everyday politics by average citizens on an unprecedented scale." Thus, by a return to the practices of Boss Platt in New York State (or Hitler?), we could make congressional operations neat and orderly and swift!

But such a restoration of what Theodore Roosevelt's Progressives called "invisible government," transferring pressures and importunities to unrecorded sessions of party managers in smoke filled rooms, would be turning back the hands of the clock! And the proposal to transfer patronage to unofficial authorities so that they can at public expense entrench themselves against dislodgement is unconscionable.

Any scheme based on wholesale alteration of human nature of voters is unsound; the National Municipal League programs in state and local government are based on human nature as it is, cutting our cloth accordingly.

Let's find the solution within the constitutional structure and develop responsibility there without complicating the task by creation of an unofficial "third house!"

In 1917 I condensed my own notion of a remedy into a letter to President Wilson¹ thus:

"The president to handpick from both houses of Congress an 'executive

¹See also "What's the Matter with Congress?", the REVIEW, November 1924, page 621.

committee' of members who are congenial politically, territorially representative, experienced and possessed of some natural leadership in Congress. This committee to meet weekly with the president, as the Cabinet does.

"Its members would stand high in Congress by virtue of the president's confidence and backing, their inside knowledge and their ability to command expert departmental help. They would formulate the budget and the legislative program, fight for 'administration measures' on the floor of Congress, and constitute an informal ministry."

He called it "thoroughly worth thinking about" but did not move on it.

I still agree with myself as then expressed, although I know less than Professor Burns does about Congress!

R.S.C.

Municipal Finance Administration.
Published for the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1949. xiv, 491 pp. \$7.50.

This fourth edition includes four revised chapters exhibiting the best known practices of controlling municipal revenues and expenditures. The volume is one of eight on municipal administration, constituting a massive contribution to the practical information which this association makes to the art of government.

Check List on How Cities Can Cut Costs. Practical Suggestions for Constructive Economy in Local Government. By Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1949. 52 pp. \$1.

This pamphlet contains 542 practical ideas for constructive economy in

local government, based largely on suggestions by some 50 municipal officials and specialists in fields of municipal activity. Each suggestion takes the form of a question which indicates a generally accepted standard, procedure or method. Questions are arranged according to municipal activities to enable department heads to make ready use of the list. The police list, for instance, has 50 questions which can be used to appraise the police department by adding up the yeses and noes.

The guide is not only one which municipal officials will find most useful but also can be of aid to citizen groups interested in ascertaining the efficiency of their local government.

Constructive Government in Ohio.
The Story of the Administration of Governor Myers Y. Cooper 1929-1930. By Harvey Walker. Columbus, Ohio, History Press, 1948. 249 pp. \$3.

Superintendent of the budget during Governor Cooper's administration, Dr. Walker was well prepared to write the biography of Ohio's 51st governor. The book is not only a history of the administration but also an analytical study of state government which in most aspects has not changed since that time. As such it is the only detailed account of Ohio's present governmental structure. Weaknesses are revealed and reforms suggested.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Accounting

Application of Cost Accounting to Budgeting. By Gerald D. Brighton. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1949. 8 pp. 50 cents.

Education

Education for Veterans' Children. Albany 1, New York State Education Department, Bureau of Publications, 1949. 15 pp. illus.

The State Education Department—Organization, Services, Functions. Albany, University of the State of New York Press, 1949. 8 pp. chart.

Housing

Houses for Canadians. A Study of the Housing Problems in the Toronto Area. By Humphrey Carver. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948. xiv, 156 pp. \$2.50.

International Relations

International Human Rights: Parts I and II. By Arthur N. Holcombe, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and others. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Summer and Autumn, 1949. 132 and 105 pp. respectively. \$1.25 each.

Legislation

Colorado Laws Passed in 1949 of Interest to Cities and Towns. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1949. 54 pp.

Planning

Chicago Rebuilds by Plan. The Role of the Chicago Plan Commission in Redevelopment and Housing. By Carl L. Gardner. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, November 1949. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

State Tax Legislation in 1949. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, November-December 1949. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Text Books

Bates and Field's State Government (third edition). By Oliver P. Field, Pressly S. Sikes and John E. Stoner. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949. ix, 692 pp. \$4.50.

Documents of American History (fifth edition). Edited by Henry Steele Commager. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. xxiii, 759 pp. \$5.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion. February Theme: **Know and Obey Traffic Laws**; March Theme: **Motor Manners**. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1950. Variously paged.

Building Traffic Safety into Residential Developments. Chicago 6, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1949. 40 pp. \$1 (discounts on quantity orders).

Transit

Wings for the Transit. Maps by Aerial Photogrammetry. Brooklyn 2, New York, Lockwood, Kessler & Bartlett, 1949. 12 pp. illus.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 103) days taken by the council count and the five subsequent days taken by the school committee count. The day previous to the election it urged its readers to be sure to vote. "The next two years in the economic life of the city of Lowell are going to be just as important as any other two-year period," it said.

Toward the end of the count, in an editorial titled, "The Long, Anxious Wait," the *Sun* commented: "While the suspense may be nerve-wracking, all candidates realize that the P. R. method of counting is the most precise there is, leaving no room for error. It is in sharp contrast with the method used under the other charters which the people and candidates of Lowell from past experience, remember as being fraught with errors, inaccuracies and, on many occasions, violent protests."